A TREATISE

ON THE

INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER,

AND

CIVIL AND POLITICAL CONDITION

OF THE

COLORED PEOPLE OF THE U. STATES;

AND THE

PREJUDICE EXERCISED TOWARDS THEM.

BY REV. H. EASTON,
A COLORED MAN.

BOSTON:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY ISAAC KNAPP,
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WITH A SERMON

ON THE

DUTY OF THE CHURCH TO THEM.

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PREFACE.

It is with diffidence that I offer this treatise to the public; but an earnest desire to contribute my mite, for the benefit of my afflicted brethren, is my only apology. The subject is one of peculiar difficulty; especially as it is one in which I am deeply interested.

To speak or write on a subject relating to one's self, is peculiarly embarrassing; and especially so, under a deep sense of injury.

As an apology for the frequent errors that may occur in the following pages, I would remark: It cannot be reasonably expected, that a literary display could adorn the production of one from whom popular sentiment has withheld almost every advantage, even of a common education.

If this work should chance to fall into the hands of any whose minds are so sordid, and whose hearts are so inflexible, as to load it, with its author, with censure on that account merely, I would only say to them, that I shall not be disposed to envy them in the enjoyment of their sentiments, while I endeavor to content myself in the enjoyment of a consciousness of having done what I could to effect the establishment of righteousness and peace in the earth.

Hartford, Ct., March, 1837.

INTRODUCTION.

I conclude that, by this time, one great truth is acknowledged by all Christendom, viz.—God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. Or, in other words, I conclude it is a settled point with the wisest of the age, that no constitutional difference exists in the children of men, which can be said to be established by hereditary laws. If the proposition be granted, it will follow, that whatever differences exist, are casual or accidental. The variety of color, in the humun species, is the result of the same laws which variegate the whole creation. The same species of flowers is variegated with innumerable colors; and yet the species is the same, possessing the same general qualities, undergoing no intrinsic change, from these accidental causes. So it is with the human species. These varieties are indispensable, for the distinction of different objects, throughout the whole range of creation.

The hair is subject to the same laws of variety with the skin, though it may be considered in a somewhat different light. Were I asked why my hair is curled, my answer would be, because God gave nature the gift of producing variety, and that gift, like uncontrolled power every where, was desirous to act like itself; and thus being influenced by some cause unknown to man, she turned out her work in the form of my hair; and on being influenced by some other cause, she turned out hair of different texture, and gave it to another man. This would be the best answer I could give; for it is impossible for man to comprehend nature or her works. She has been supplied with

an ability by her author to do wonders, insomuch that some have been foolish enough to think her to be God. All must confess she possesses a mysterious power to produce variety. We need only visit the potato and corn patch, (not a costly school,) and we shall be perfectly satisfied; for there, in the same hill, on one stalk, sprung from one potato, you may find several of different colors; and upon the same corn-stalk you may find two ears, one white or yellow, and the other deep red; and sometimes you may find an astonishing variety of colors displayed on one ear among the kernels; and what makes the observation more delightful, they are never found quarrelling about their color, though some have shades of extreme beauty. If you go to the field of grass, you will find that all grass is the same grass in variety; go to the herds and flocks, and among the feathered tribe, or view nature where you will, she tells us all that we can know, why it is that one man's head bears woolly, and another flaxen hair.

But when we come to talk about intellectual differences, we are brought into a new field of investigation. I call it a new or another field, because I cannot believe that nature has any thing to do in variegating intellect, any more than it has power over the soul. Mind can act on matter, but matter cannot act upon mind; hence it fills an entirely different sphere; therefore, we must look for a cause of difference of intellect elsewhere, for it cannot be found in nature. In looking for a cause, we have no right to go above nor below the sphere which the mind occupies; we cannot rationally conceive the cause to originate with God, nor in matter. Nature never goes out of her own limits to produce her works; all of which are perfect so far as she is concerned, and most assuredly God's works are perfect; hence, whatever imperfections there are in the mind, must have originated within its own sphere. But the question is, what is the cause and the manner it affects? Originally there was no difference of intellect, either constitutional or casual. Man was perfect, and therefore to him there was no exception. After he fell, we immediately find a difference of mind. In Abel we find characteristics of a noble soul, a prolific mind; his under-

standing appears to have been but very little, if any, impaired by the fall. But in Cain we find quite the reverse. His mind appears to have been narrow—his understanding dark—having wrapped himself up in a covetous mantle as contemptible as his conduct was wicked.

Now I see no reason why the causes of difference do not exist in the fall—in the act of transgression ; for certain it is that the mind has since been subject to the influence of every species of evil, which must be a secondary cause to the existing effect. Or the subject may be viewed in the following light, viz. : evil and good exist in the world, and as the mind is influenced by the one or the other, so is the different effect produced thereby.

There is no truth more palpable than this, that the mind is capable of high cultivation ; and that the degree of culture depends entirely on the means or agents employed to that end. In a country, therefore, where public sentiment is formed in favor of improving the mind, whatever the object may be, whether to promote good or evil, the mind is influenced thereby. The practical exercise of the mind is essential also to improvement and growth, and is directed likewise by public sentiment.

Public sentiment is founded on the real or imaginary interests of parties, whose individual interests are identified one with another. Public sentiment itself is directed in the exercise of its influence, by incidental circumstances, either local or foreign. In this current the mind is borne along, and at the instance of every change of event, is called to a new exercise of thought, conclusions, purposes, &c. ; whereas, had it not been for the change, there would have been no action produced in the mind : for it is manifest, that the sphere which mankind are destined to fill, is surrounded with a great variety of acting laws, which, were it not for such causes, would make their minds entirely passive ; but, under the influence of those causes, they are made to act not from constraint, but in accordance with an innate desire to avail themselves of collateral aid to their operations. It is manifest, therefore, that the more varying or complex the state of a people is incidentally rendered, the more power there is extant to call up renewed energies of the mind, the direct

tendency of which is to confirm and strengthen it. Hence I deem it a fair conclusion, that whatever differences there are in the power of the intellect of nations, they are owing to the difference existing in the casual laws by which they are influenced. By consulting the history of nations, it may be seen that their genius perfectly accords with their habits of life, and the general maxims of their country; and that these habits and maxims possess a sameness of character with the incidental circumstances in which they originated.

As the intellect of a particular class will be in part the subject of this treatise, I wish in this place to follow the investigation of national difference of intellect, with its cause, by comparing the history of Europe and Africa.

Ham was the son of Noah, and founder of the African race, and progenitor to Assur, who probably founded the first government after the flood. It is evident from the best authority extant, that the arts and sciences flourished among this branch of the great family of man, long before its benefits were known to any other. History is explicit with regard to their hospitality also. At an early period of the existence of the government of Egypt, and while Chederlaomer, king of the Elamites, had already commenced the practice of robbery and bloodshed, Abraham was obliged by a famine to leave Canaan, where God had commanded him to settle, and to go into Egypt. 'This journey,' says a historian, 'gives occasion for Moses to mention some particulars with regard to the Egyptians; and every stroke discovers the character of an improved and powerful nation. The Egyptian monarch, and the grandeur of his court, are described in the most glowing colors;—and Ham, who led the colony into Egypt, has become the founder of a mighty empire. We are not, however, to imagine, that all the laws which took place in Egypt, and which have been so justly admired for their wisdom, were the work of this early age. Diodorus Siculus, a Greek writer, mentions many successive princes, who labored for their establishment and perfection. But in the time of Jacob, first principles of civil government seem to have been tolerably understood among the Egyptians. The country was divided into

several districts or separate departments; councils, composed of experienced and select persons, were established for the management of public affairs; granaries for preserving corn were erected; and, in fine, the Egyptians in this age enjoyed a commerce far from inconsiderable. These facts, though of an ancient date, deserve our particular attention. It is from the Egyptians, that many of the arts, both of elegance and ability, have been handed down in an uninterrupted chain, to modern nations of Europe. The Egyptians communicated their arts to the Greeks; the Greeks taught the Romans many improvements, both in the arts of peace and war; and to the Romans, the present inhabitants of Europe are indebted for their civility and refinement.'

This noble people were not content with the enjoyment of luxury and ease, to the exclusion of their neighbors. At an early period they are found carrying the blessings of civilization into Greece; and, although repulsed in their first attempt by the rude barbarity of the Greeks, yet their philanthropy soon inspired them to resume the enterprise, which resulted in the settlement of two colonies, one in Argos, and the other in Attica. The founders of these colonies succeeded in their endeavors to unite the wandering Greeks, which laid a foundation for the instructions they afterwards gave them. Sesostris, a prince of wonderful ability, is supposed to mount the throne of Egypt about 2341 years before Christ. Egypt in his time, it is said, was in all probability the most powerful kingdom upon earth, and according to the best calculation, is supposed to contain twenty-seven millions of inhabitants. From the reign of Sesostris to that of Boccharis, a term of near 800 years, but little is known of the princes who reigned, but it is believed from collateral evidence, that the country in that time continued in a very flourishing condition, and for aught that is known, enjoyed uninterrupted peace. Wars and commotions, (says an eminent writer,) are the greatest themes of the historian, while the gentle and happy reign of a wise prince passes unobserved and unrecorded. During this period of quietude at home, Egypt continued to pour forth her colonies into distant nations. Ath-

ens, that seat of learning and politeness, that school for all who aspired after wisdom, owes its foundation to Cecrops, who landed in Greece, with an Egyptian colony, before Christ 1585. The institutions which he established among the Athenians gave rise to the spread of the morals, arts and sciences in Greece, which have since shed their lustre upon Rome, Europe, and America.

From the reign of Boccharis to the dissolution of their government, the Egyptians are celebrated for the wisdom of their laws and political institutions, which were dictated by the true spirit of civil wisdom. It appears that this race of people, during their greatest prosperity, made but very little proficiency in the art of war. We hear of but little of their conquests of armies, which is an evidence of their being an unwarlike people.

On taking a slight view of the history of Europe, we find a striking contrast. Javan, the third from Noah, and son of Japhet, is the stock from whom all the people known by the name of Greeks are descended. Javan established himself in the islands on the Western coast of Asia Minor. It is supposed, and it may not be impossible, that a few wanderers would escape over into Europe. Who would believe, says a writer, that the Greeks, who in latter ages became the patterns of politeness and every elegant art, were descended from a savage race of men, traversing the woods and wilds, inhabiting the rocks and caverns, a wretched prey to wild beasts and to one another. I would here remark that it is a little singular that modern philosophers, the descendants of this race of savages, should claim for their race a superiority of intellect over those who, at that very time, were enjoying all the real benefits of civilized life.

The remnant of this race which found their way to Europe from Asia Minor, are brought into notice but very little until after Rome had conquered the world. On the decline of that empire, from the death of Theodosius the great, A. D. 395 to A. D. 571, all Europe exhibited a picture of most melancholy Gothic barbarity. Literature, science, taste, were words scarce in use from this period to the sixteenth century. Persons of the highest rank could not read or write. Many of the clergy

did not understand the learning which they were obliged daily to write; some of them could scarce read it.

The Goths and Vandals, and other fierce tribes, who were scattered over the vast countries of the North of Europe and Northwest of Asia, were drawn from their homes by a thirst for blood and plunder. Great bodies of armed men, with their wives and children, issued forth like regular colonies in quest of new settlements. New adventurers followed them. The lands which they deserted were occupied by more remote tribes of barbarians. These in their turn, pushed into more fertile countries, and like a torrent continually increasing, rolled on, and swept every thing before them.

Wherever the barbarians marched, their route was marked with blood. They ravaged or destroyed all around them. They made no distinction between what was sacred and what was profane. They respected no age, or sex, or rank. If man was called upon, (says an eminent historian,) to fix upon the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most calamitious and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from A. D. 395 to 511. Cotemporary authors, who beheld that scene of destruction, labor and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horror of it. The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations, are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders.

Towards the close of the sixth century, the Saxons or Germans were masters of the Southern and more fertile provinces of Britain: the Franks, another tribe of Germans; the Goths of Spain; the Goths and Lombards of Italy, and the adjacent provinces.

During the period above mentioned, European slavery was introduced. Having, as yet, the art of navigation but very imperfectly, it seemed to be the whole bent of their mind to enslave each other.

A form of government, distinguished by the name of the Feudal system, was one under which the leaders of these barbarians became intolerable. They reduced the great body of

them to actual servitude. They were slaves fixed to the soil, and with it transferred from one proprietor to another, by sale, or by conveyance. The kindred and dependants of an aggressor, as well as of a defender, were involved in a quarrel, without even the liberty of remaining neuter, whenever their superiors saw fit.

The king or general to whom they belonged, would lead them on to conquest, parcel out the land of the vanquished among his chief officers, binding those on whom they were bestowed, to follow his standard with a number of men, and to bear arms in his defence. The chief officers imitated the example of their sovereign, and in distributing portions of their lands among their dependents, annexed the same conditions to the grant.

For the smallest pretext they would make war with one another, and lead their slaves on to conquest; and take the land and goods of their foes as the reward of their enterprise. This system existed in the highlands in Scotland, as late as the year 1156.

It is not a little remarkable, that in the nineteenth century a remnant of this same barbarous people should boast of their national superiority of intellect, and of wisdom and religion; who, in the seventeenth century, crossed the Atlantic and practised the same crime their barbarous ancestry had done in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries: bringing with them the same boasted spirit of enterprise; and not unlike their fathers, staining their route with blood, as they have rolled along, as a cloud of locusts, towards the West. The late unholy war with the Indians, and the wicked crusade against the peace of Mexico, are striking illustrations of the nobleness of this race of people, and the powers of their mind. I will here take a brief review of the events following each race from their beginning.

Before Christ 2188, Misraim, the son of Ham, founded the kingdom of Egypt, which lasted 1633 years.

2059, Ninus, the son of Belus, another branch of Ham's family, founds the kingdom of Assyria, which lasted 1000 years, and out of its ruins Babylon, Ninevah, and the kingdom of the Medes.

1822, Memnon, the Egyptian, invents the letters.

1571, Moses born in Egypt, and adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, who educated him in all the learning of the Egpytians.

1556, Cecrops brings a colony from Egypt into Attica, and begins the kingdom of Athens, in Greece.

1485, The first ship that appeared in Greece was brought from Egypt by Danaus, who arrived at Rhodes, and brought with him his fifty daughters.

869, The city of Carthage, in Africa, founded by queen Dido.

604, By order of Necho, king of Egypt, some Phenicians, sailed from the Red Sea round Africa, and returned by the Mediterranean.

600, Thales, of Miletus, travels to Egypt, to acquire the knowledge of geometry, astronomy, and philosophy; returns to Greece and calculates eclipses, gives general notions of the universe, &c.

285, Dionysius, of Alexandria, began his astronomical era, on Monday, June 26, being the first who found the exact solar year to consist of 365 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes.

284, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, employs seventy-two interpreters to translate the Old Testament into the Greek language, which was called the Septuagint.

237, Hamilcar, the Carthagenian, causes his son Hannibal, at nine years of age, to swear eternal enmity to the Romans.

218, Hannibal passes the Alps, at the age of 28 years, and defeats the Romans in several battles.

47, The Alexandrian library, consisting of 400,000 valuable books burned by accident.

30, Alexandria is taken by Octavius, upon which Mark Antony and Cleopatra, put themselves to death, and Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.

640, A. D., Alexandria is taken by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet, and the grand library burned by order of Omar, their caliph or prince.

991, The figures in arithmetic are brought into Europe by the Saracens from Arabia. [Poor negroes, I wonder where they

got learning. These are the race of people who are charged with an inferiority of intellect.]

Africa could once boast of several states of eminence, among which are Egypt, Ethiopia, and Carthage; the latter supported an extensive commerce, which was extended to every part of the then known world. Her fleets even visited the British shores, and was every where prosperous, until she was visited with the scourge of war, which opened the way for those nations whose life depended on plunder. The Romans have the honor, by the assistance of the Mauritonians, of subduing Carthage; after which the North of Africa was overrun by the Vandals, who, in their march destroyed all arts and sciences; and, to add to the calamity of this quarter of the world, the Saracens made a sudden conquest of all the coasts of Egypt and Barbary, in the seventh century. And these were succeeded by the Turks, both being of the Mahomedan religion, whose professors carried desolation wherever they went; and thus the ruin of that once flourishing part of the world was completed. Since that period, Africa has been robbed of her riches and honor, and sons and daughters, to glut the rapacity of the great minds of European bigots.

The following is a short chronological view of the events following the rise of the Europeans.

A. D. 49, London is founded by the Romans.

51, Caractacus, the British king is carried in chains to Rome.

59, Nero persecutes the Druids in Britain.

61, The British queen defeats the Romans, but is conquered soon after by Suetonius, governor of Britain.

63, Christianity introduced into Britain.

85, Julius Agricola, governor of South Britain, to protect the civilized Britons from the incursions of the Caledonians, builds a line of forts between the rivers Forth and Clyde; defeats the Caledonians; and first sails round Britain, which he discovers to be an island.

222, About this time the barbarians begin their eruptions and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the Roman government.

274, The art of manufacturing silk first introduced into Britain from India; the manufacturing of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551.

404, The kingdom of Caledonia, or Scotland, revives under Fergus.

406, The Vandals, Alans, and Suevi spread in France and Spain, by a concession of Honorius, emperor of the West.

410, Rome taken and plundered by Alaric, king of visi-Goths.

412, The Vandals begin their kingdom in Spain.

446, The Romans having left the Britons to themselves, are greatly harassed by the Scots and Picts, they make their complaints to Rome again, which they entitle, the groans of the Britons.

449, The Saxons join the Britons against the Scots and Picts.

455, Saxons having repulsed the Scots and Picts begin to establish themselves in Kent under Hengist.

476, Several new states arise in Italy and other parts, consisting of Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians, under whom literature is extinguished, and the works of the learned are destroyed.

496, Clovis, king of France, baptized, and christianity begins in that kingdom.

508, Prince Arthur begins his reign over the Britons.

609, Here begins the power of the Pope by the concession of Phocas, emperor of the east.

685, The Britons, after a struggle of near 150 years, are totally expelled by the Saxons, and drove into Wales and Cornwall.

712, The Saracens conquer Spain.

726, The controversy about images occasions many insurrections.

800, Charlemagne, king of France, begins the empire of Germany, and endeavors to restore learning.

838, The Scots and Picts have a hard fight. The former prevail.

867, The Danes begin their ravages in England.

896, Alfred the Great fought 56 battles with the invading

Danes, after which he divides his kingdom into counties, hundreds, tythings; erects courts: and founds the University of Oxford.

936, The Saracen empire is divided into seven kingdoms, by usurpation.

1015, Children forbidden by law to be sold by their parents, in England.

1017, Canute, king of Denmark, gets possession of England.

1040, The Danes after much hard fighting are driven out of Scotland.

1041, The Saxon line restored under Edward.

1043, The Turks who had hitherto fought for other nations, have become formidable, and take possession of Persia.

1059, Malcolm III. king of Scotland, kills Macbeth, and marries the princess Margaret.

1065, The Turks take Jerusalem.

1066, The conquest of England by William; who

1070, introduced the feudal law.

1075, Henry IV, emperor of Germany, and the Pope, have a quarrel. Henry, in penance walks barefoot in January.

1096, The first crusade to the Holy Land is begun, under several Christian princes, to drive the infidels from Jerusalem.

1118, The order of knight templars instituted.

1172, Henry II, king of England, takes possession of Ireland.

1182, Pope Alexander III, compels the kings of France and England, to hold the stirrups of his saddle when he mounted his horse.

1192, Richard, king of England, defeats Saladin's army, consisting of 300,000 combatants.

1200, Chimnies not known in England.

1227, The Tartars emerge from the Northern part of Asia, and in imitation of former conquerers, carry death and desolation wherever they march. They overrun all the Saracen empire.

1233, The inquisition began in 1204, is now in the hands of the Dominicans.

1258, The Tartars take Bagdad, which finishes the empire of the Saracens.

1263, Acho, king of Norway, invades Scotland with 160 sail, and lands 20,000 men at the mouth of the Clyde, who were cut to pieces by Alexander III.

1273, The empire of the present Austrian family begins in Germany.

1282, Lewellyn, prince of Wales, defeated and killed by Edward I., who unites that principality to England.

1314, Battle between Edward II, and Robert Bruce, which establishes the latter on the throne of Scotland.

1340, Gunpowder and guns first invented by Swartz. 1346, Bombs and four pieces of cannon were made, by which Edward III. gained the battle of Cressy.

1346, The battle of Durham, in which David, king of Scots, is taken prisoner.

1356, The battle of Poictiers, in which king John of France and his son are taken prisoners by Edward, the black prince.

1362, John Wickliffe calls in question the doctrines of the church of Rome, whose followers are called Lollards.

1388, The battle of Otterburn between Hotspur and the Earl of Douglas.

1415, Battle gained over the French by Henry V. of England.

1428, The siege of Orleans.

1453, Constantinople taken by the Turks.

1483, Civil war ended between the house of York and Lancaster, after a siege of 30 years, and the loss of 100,000 men.

1489, Maps and sea charts first brought to England.

1492, America first discovered by Columbus.

1494, Algebra first known in Europe.

1497, South America first discovered.

1499, North America by Cabot.

1517, Martin Luther begins the reformation.

1616, The first permanent settlement in Virginia.

1621, New England planted by the Puritans.

1635, Province of Maryland planted by Lord Baltimore.

1640, The massacre in Ireland, when 40,000 English protestants are killed.

1649, Charles I. beheaded.

1664, The New Netherlands in North America, taken from the Swedes and Dutch by the English.

1667, The peace of Breda, which confirms to the English the New Netherlands, now known by names of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey.

The object I have in introducing this account of events, attendant on the rise and progress of the African and European nations, is, that the traits of their national character may at a glance be discovered; by which the reader may the better judge of the superiority of the descendants of Japhet over those of Ham. In the first place, the European branch of Japhet's family have but very little claims to the rank of civilized nations. From the fourth up to the sixteenth century, they were in the deepest state of heathenish barbarity. A continual scene of bloodshed and robbery was attendant on the increase of their numbers. Their spread over different countries caused almost an entire extinction of all civil and religious governments, and of the liberal arts and sciences. And even since that period, all Europe and America have been little else than one great universal battle field.

It is true, there is a great advance in the arts and sciences from where they once were; but whether they are any where near its standard, as they once existed in Africa, is a matter of strong doubt. We should without doubt, had not the Europeans destroyed every vestige of history, which fell in their barbarous march, been favored with an extensive and minute history of the now unknown parts of Africa. Certain it is, however, that whatever they may have contributed of knowledge to the world, it is owing to these casual circumstances we have mentioned, rather than any thing peculiar to them as a people.

Any one who has the least conception of true greatness, on comparing the two races by means of what history we have, must decide in favor of the descendants of Ham. The Egyptians alone have done more to cultivate such improvements as comports to the happiness of mankind, than all the descendants of Japhet put together. Their enterprise in establishing colo-

nies and governments among their barbarous neighbors, and supplying their wants from their granaries, instead of taking the advantage of their ignorance, and robbing them of what little they had, does not look much like an inferiority of intellect, nor a want of disposition to make a proper use of it. They, at no age, cultivated the art of war to any great extent. Neither are they found making an aggressive war with any nation. But, while other nations were continually robbing and destroying each other, they were cultivating internal improvement; and virtually became a storehouse of every thing conducive to the happiness of mankind, with which she supplied their wants. Even as late as Carthage was in her glory, that race of people exhibited their original character. For that famed city never acquired its greatness, but by the cultivation of commerce. And though she obtained command of both sides of the Mediterranean, became mistress of the sea, made the islands of Corsica and Sardinia tributary to her, yet it is evident she acquired this advantage by her wealth, rather than by her arms.

Europe and America presents quite a different spectacle. There is not a foot of God's earth which is now occupied by them, but has been obtained, in effect, by the dint of war, and the destruction of the vanquished, since the founding of London, A. D. 49 Their whole career presents a motley mixture of barbarism and civilization, of fraud and philanthropy, of patriotism and avarice, of religion and bloodshed. And notwithstanding many great and good men have lived and died bright luminaries of the world—and notwithstanding there are many now living who are the seed of the church, yet it must be admitted that almost every nation in Europe, and especially Americans, retain, in principle, if not in manners, all the characteristics of their barbarous and avaricious ancestors. And instead of their advanced state in science being attributable to a superior developement of intellectual faculties, there is nothing more capable of proof, than that it is solely owing to the nature of the circumstances into which they were drawn by their innate thirst for blood and plunder.

Had the inhabitants of Egypt, Ethiopia, Carthage, and other

kingdoms in Africa, been possessed with the same disposition, the probability is, that the world now would be in a heathenish darkness, for the want of that information which their better disposition has been capable of producing. And had they had the means at that early age of understanding human nature, as they now would have, were their kingdoms in their glory, they would probably not have suffered their liberality to be taken advantage of by a barbarous crew around them. It is not for the want of mind, therefore, that Africa is in her present state; for were the dispositions of her different nations like the ancient barbarians of Europe, they would soon make a plenty of business for Europeans, with all their advantages, to defend themselves against their depredations. But it is not the genius of the race. Nothing but liberal, generous principles, can call the energies of an African mind into action. And when these principles are overruled by a foreign cause, they are left without any thing to inspire them to action, other than the cravings of their animal wants.

Africa never will raise herself, neither will she be raised by others, by warlike implements, or ardent spirits; nor yet by a hypocritical religious crusade, saying one thing and meaning another. But when she rises, other nations will have learned to deal justly with her from principle. When that time shall arrive, the lapse of a few generations will show the world that her sons will again take the lead in the field of virtuous enterprise, filling the front ranks of the church, when she marches into the millennial era.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In this country we behold the remnant of a once noble, but now heathenish people. In calling the attention of my readers to the subject which I here present them, I would have them lose sight of the African character, about which I have made some remarks in my introduction. For at this time, circumstances have established as much difference between them and their ancestry, as exists between them and any other race or nation. In the first place the colored people who are born in this country, are Americans in every sense of the word. Americans by birth, genius, habits, language, &c. It is supposed, and I think not without foundation, that the slave population labor under an intellectual and physical disability or inferiority. The justness of these conclusions, however, will apply only to such as have been subject to slavery some considerable length of time.

I have already made some remarks with regard to the cause of apparent differences between nations. I shall have cause to remark again, that as the intellectual as well as the physical properties of mankind, are subject to cultivation, I have observed that the growth or culture depends materially on the means employed to that end. In those countries in which the maxims and laws are such as are calculated to employ the physical properties mostly, such as racing, hunting, &c., there is uniformly a full development of physical properties. We will take the American Indian for example. A habit of indolence produces a contrary effect. History, as well as experience, will justify me in saying that a proper degree of exercise is essential to the growth of the corporeal system ; and that the form and size depends on the extent and amount of exercise. On

comparing one who is brought up from his youth a tradesman, with one who is brought up a farmer, the difference is manifestly apparent according to the difference of their exercise. Change of public sentiment indirectly affects the form and size of whole nations, inasmuch as public sentiment dictates the mode and kind of exercise. The muscular yeomanry who once formed a majority of our country's population, are now but seldom found; those who fill their places in society, in no way compare with them in that respect. Compare our farmer's daughters, who have been brought up under the influence of country habits, with those brought up under city habits, and a difference is most manifest.

But there is another consideration worthy of notice. Education, says D. D. Hunter,* on the part of the mother, commences from the moment she has the prospect of being a mother. And her own health thenceforth is the first duty she owes to her child. The instructions given to the wife of Manoah, and mother of Sampson, the Nazarite, (Jud. 13, 4:) 'Now, therefore, beware, I pray thee, drink not wine nor strong drink, and eat not any unclean thing,' are not merely arbitrarily adapted only to a particular branch of political economy, and intended to serve local and temporary purposes; no, the constitutions of nature, reason, and experience, which unite in recommending to those who have the prospect of being mothers, a strict attention to diet, to exercise, to temper, to every thing, which affecting the frame of their own body or mind, may communicate an important, a lasting, perhaps indelible impression, to the mind or body of their offspring. A proper regimen for themselves, is therefore the first stage of education for their children. The neglect of it is frequently found productive of effects which no future culture is able to alter or rectify.

These most just remarks confirm me in the opinion, that the laws of nature may be crossed by the misconduct or misfortune of her who has the prospect of being a mother. Apply these remarks to the condition of slave mothers, as such, and what are the plain and natural inferences to be drawn. Certainly, if they are entitled to any weight at all, the intellectual and physical inferiority of the slave population can be accounted for without imputing it to an original hereditary cause. Contemplate the exposed condition of slave mothers—their continual subjection to despotism and barbarity; their minds proscribed to the narrow bounds of servile obedience, subject to irritation from every

* Hunter's Sacred Biography, vol. 7. page 10.

quarter; great disappointment, and physical suffering themselves, and continual eye-witnesses to maiming and flagellation; shrieks of wo borne to their ears on every wind. Indeed, language is lame in the attempt to describe the condition of those poor daughters of affliction. Indeed, I have no disposition to dwell on the subject; to be obliged to think of it at all, is sufficiently harrowing to my feelings. But I would inquire how it can be possible for nature, under such circumstances, to act up to her perfect laws?

The approbrious terms used in common by most all classes, to describe the deformities of the offspring of these parents, is true in part, though employed with rather bad grace by those in whom the cause of their deformity originates. I will introduce those terms, not for the sake of embellishing my treatise with their modest style, but to show the lineal effects of slavery on its victims. Contracted and sloped foreheads; prominent eye-balls; projecting under-jaw; certain distended muscles about the mouth, or lower parts of the face; thick lips and flat nose; hips and rump projecting; crooked shins; flat feet, with large projecting heels. This, in part, is the language used by moderns to philosophize, upon the negro character. With regard to their mind, it is said that their intellectual brain is not fully developed; malicious disposition; no taste for high and honorable attainments; implacable enemies one to another; and that they sustain the same relation to the ourang outang, that the whites do to them.

Now, as it respects myself, I am perfectly willing to admit the truth of these remarks, as they apply to the character of a slave population; for I am aware that no language capable of being employed by mortal tongue, is sufficiently descriptive to set forth in its true character the effect of that cursed thing, slavery. I shall here be under the necessity of calling up those considerations connected with the subject, which I but a little time since entertained a hope that I should be able to pass by unnoticed; I have reference to a mother who is a slave, bringing into the world beings whose limbs and minds were lineally fashioned for the yoke and fetter, long before her own immortal mind was clothed in materiality.

I would ask my readers to think of woman as the greatest natural gift to man—think of her in delicate health, when the poor delicate fabric is taxed to the utmost to answer the demands of nature's laws—when friends and sympathies, nutricious aliments, and every other collateral aid is needed. O think of poor woman, a prospective mother; and when you think, feel

as a heart of flesh can feel; see her weeping eyes fixed alternately upon the object of her affections and him who accounts her a brute—think how she feels on beholding the gore streaming from the back, the naked back, of the former, while the latter wields the accursed lash, until the back of a husband, indeed the whole frame, has become like a loathsome heap of mangled flesh. How often has she witnessed the wielding club lay him prostrate, while the purple current followed the damning blow. How the rattling of the chain, the lock of which has worn his ancles and his wrists to the bone, falls upon her ear. O, has man fallen so far below the dignity of his original character, as not to be susceptible of feeling. But does the story stop here. I would that it were even so. But alas! this, the ornamental production of nature's God, is not exempt, even in this state, from the task of a slave. And, as though cursed by all the gods, her own delicate frame is destined to feel the cruel scourge. When faint and weary she lags her step, the overseer, as though decreed to be a tormenting devil, throws the coiling lash upon her naked back; and in turn, the master makes it his pleasure to despoil the works of God, by subjecting her to the rank of goods and chattels, to be sold in the shambles. Woman, you who possess a woman's nature, can feel for her who was destined by the Creator of you both, to fill the same sphere with yourself. You know by experience the claims of nature's laws—you know too well the irritability of your natures when taxed to the utmost to fulfil the decree of nature's God.

I have in part given a description of a mother that is a slave. And can it be believed to be possible for such a one to bring perfect children into the world. If we are permitted to decide that natural causes produce natural effects, then it must be equally true that unnatural causes produce unnatural effects. The slave system is an unnatural cause, and has produced its unnatural effects, as displayed in the deformity of two and a half millions of beings, who have been under its soul-and-body-destroying influence, lineally, for near three hundred years; together with all those who have died their progenitors since that period.

But again, I believe it to be an axiom generally admitted, that mind acts on matter, then again, that mind acts on mind; this being the case, is it a matter of surprise that those mothers who are slaves, should, on witnessing the distended muscles on the face of whipped slaves, produce the same or similar distensions on the face of her offspring, by her own mind being affected by the sight; and so with all other deformities. Like

causes produce like effects. If by Jacob's placing ring-streaked elder in the trough where Laban's flocks drank, caused their young to be ring-streaked and speckled, why should not the offspring of slave mothers, who are continually witnessing exciting objects, be affected by the same law; and why should they not be more affected, as the mother is capable of being more excited.

From the foregoing I draw the following conclusions, with regard to the different degrees of effect produced by slavery. Compare slaves that are African born, with those who are born in slavery, and the latter will in no wise compare with the former in point of form of person or strength of mind. The first and second generation born in this country are generally far before the fourth and fifth, in this respect. Compare such as have been house servants, as they are called, for several generations with such as have been confined to plantations the same term of time, and there will be a manifest inferiority in the latter. Observe among the nominally free, their form of person, features, strength of mind, and bent of genius, fidelity, &c., and it will evidently appear that they who sustain a relation of no further than the third generation from African birth, are in general far before those who sustain a more distant relation. The former generally acquire small possessions, and conform their habits of life and modes of operation with those common where they live, while those who have been enslaved for several generations, or whose progenitors in direct line were thus enslaved, cannot be induced to conform to any regular rule of life or operation. I intend this last statement as general fact, of which, however, there are exceptions; where there is a mixture of blood, as it is sometimes called, perhaps these remarks may not apply. I suppose, however, that in case of a union between a degraded American slave of the last order spoken of, and a highly intelligent free American, whether white or colored, that the offspring of such parents are as likely to partake of the influence of slavery through the lineal medium of the slave parent, as to receive natural intelligence through the medium of the other.

So far as I understand, nature's law seems not to be scrupulously rigid in this particular: there appears to be no rule, therefore, by which to determine the effect or lineal influence of slavery on a mixed race. I am satisfied with regard to one fact, however, that caste has no influence whatever: for a union between a highly cultivated black and a degraded one, produces an exact similar effect. Whatever complexion or nation parents thus connected

may be of, the effect produced would be the same, but it would not be certain that their children would occupy a midway region between the intelligent and degraded parent, as in other cases part of a family may be below mediocrity, and part above, in point of form and intellect. One thing is certain, which may have some bearing in the case ; that when nature has been robbed, give her a fair chance and she will repair her loss by her own operations, one of which is to produce variety. But to proceed further with any remarks on this point, I feel myself not at liberty. In view of what I have said on this subject, I am aware of having fallen short of giving a full description of the lineal influence and effects slavery has upon the colored population of this country. Such is the nature of the subject, that it is almost impossible to arrange our thoughts so as to follow it by any correct rule of investigation.

Slavery, in its effects, is like that of a complicated disease, typifying evil in all its variety—in its operations, omnipotent to destroy—in effect, fatal as death and hell. Language is lame in its most successful attempt, to describe its enormity ; and with all the excitement which this country has undergone, in consequence of the discussion of the subject, yet the story is not half told, neither can it be. We, who are subject to its fatal effects, cannot fully realize the disease under which we labor. Think of a colored community, whose genius and temperament of minds all differ in proportion as they are lineally or personally made to feel the damning influence of slavery, and, as though it had the gift of creating tormenting pangs at pleasure, it comes up, in the character of an accuser, and charges our half destroyed, discordant minds, with hatred one towards the other, as though a body composed of parts, and systematized by the laws of nature, were capable of continuing its regular configurative movements after it has been decomposed.

When I think of nature's laws, that with scrupulous exactness they are to be obeyed by all things over which they are intended to bear rule, in order that she may be able to declare, in all her variety, that the hand that made her is divine, and when, in this case, I see and feel how she has been robbed of her means to perform her delightful task—her laws trampled under feet with all their divine authority, despoiling her works even in her most sacred temples—I wonder that I am a man ; for though of the third generation from slave parents, yet in body and mind nature has never been permitted to half finish her work. Let all judge who is in the fault, God, or slavery, or its sustainers?

CHAPTER II.

ON THE POLITICAL CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

A government like this is at any time liable to be revolutionized by the people, at any and every time there is a change of public sentiment. This, perhaps, is as it should be. But when the subjects of a republican government become morally and politically corrupt, there is but little chance remaining for republicanism. A correct standard may be set up, under which parties may pretend to aim at a defence of the original principles upon which the government was based ; but if the whole country has become corrupt, what executive power is there remaining to call those parties in question, and to decide whether their pretensions and acts correspond with the standard under which they profess to act. Suppose the Constitution and articles of confederation, be the admitted correct standard by all parties, still the case is no better, when there is not honesty enough in either, to admit a fair construction of their letter and spirit. Good laws, and a good form of government, are of but very little use to a wicked people, further than they are able to restrain them from wickedness.

Were a fallen angel permitted to live under the government of heaven, his disposition would first incline him to explain away the nature of its laws ; this done, their spirit becomes perverted, which places him back in hell from whence he came ; for, though he could not alter the laws of heaven, yet he could pervert their use, in himself, and act them out in this perverted state, which would make him act just like a devil. The perversion of infinite good, is infinite evil—and if the spiritual use of the laws of an infinitely perfect government is productive of a perfect heaven, in like manner their spiritual perversion is productive of perfect or infinite hell. Hence it is

said to be a bottomless pit—ay, deep as the principle is high, from which the distortion is made.

I have taken this course to illustrate the state of a people with a good government and laws, and with a disposition to explain away all their meaning. My conclusions are, that such republicans are capable, like the angel about which I have spoken, to carry out their republicanism into the most fatal despotism. A republican form of government, therefore, can be a blessing to no people, further than they make honest virtue the rule of life. Indeed, honesty is essential to the existence of a republican form of government, for it originates in a contract or agreement of its subjects, relative to the disposal of their mutual interests. If conspiracy is got up by any of the contracters, against the fundamental principles of the honest contract, (which, if republican, embraced those interests which are unalienable, and no more,) and if, by an influence gained by them, so as to make its intent null and void, the foundation of the government is thereby destroyed; leaving its whole fabric a mere wreck, inefficient in all its executive power. Or if the contract had the form of honesty only, when there was a secret design of fraud in the minds of the parties contracting, then of course, it is a body without a soul—a fabric without a foundation; and, like a dead carcass entombed, will tumble to pieces as soon as brought to the light of truth, and into the pure air of honesty.

With regard to the claims of the colored subjects of this government to equal political rights, I maintain that their claims are founded in an original agreement of the contracting parties, and that there is nothing to show that color was a consideration in the agreement. It is well known that when the country belonged to Great Britain, the colored people were slaves. But when America revolted from Britain, they were held no longer by any legal power. There was no efficient law in the land except marshal law, and that regarded no one as a slave. The inhabitants were governed by no other law, except by resolutions adopted from time to time by meetings convoked in the different colonies. Upon the face of the warrants by which these district and town meetings were called, there is not a word said about the color of the attendants. In convoking the continental Congress of the 4th of September, 1776, there was not a word said about color. In November of the same year, Congress met again, to get in readiness twelve thousand men to act in any emergency; at the same time, a request was forwarded to Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, to increase this army to twenty thousand men. Now it is well known that hun-

dreds of the men of which this army was composed, were colored men, and recognized by Congress as Americans.

An extract from the speech of Richard Henry Lee, delivered in Congress, assembled June 8, 1776, in support of a motion, which he offered, to declare America free and independent, will give some view of the nature of the agreement upon which this government is based. 'The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of her citizens, (I suppose black as well as white,) with the ever increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted, repose. She entreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant which first sprang up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race.'

The principles which this speech contains, are manifestly those which were then acted upon. To remove all doubt on this point, I will make a short extract from the Declaration of Independence, in Congress assembled, fourth of July, 1776. 'We, the representatives of these United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States. (And now for the pledge.) We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.' The representatives who composed that Congress were fifty-five in number, and all signed the declaration and pledge in behalf of the good people of the thirteen States.

Now I would ask, can it be said, from any fair construction of the foregoing extracts, that the colored people are not recognized as citizens. Congress drew up articles of confederation also, among which are found the following reserved state privileges. 'Each state has the exclusive right of regulating its internal government, and of framing its own laws, in all matters not included in the articles of confederation, and which are not repugnant to it.' Another article reads as follows: 'There shall be a public treasury for the service of the confederation, to be replenished by the particular contributions of each state, the same to be proportioned according to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex, or condition, with the exception of Indians.'

These extracts are sufficient to show the civil and political recognition of the colored people. In addition to which, however, we have an official acknowledgment of their equal, civil, and political relation to the government, in the following proclamation of Major General Andrew Jackson, to the colored people of Louisiana, Sept. 21, 1814; also of Thomas Butler, Aid de Camp:

'*Head Quarters, Seventh Military District, Mobile, September* 21, 1814. *To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana.*

'Through a mistaken policy you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights, in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.

'As sons of Freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children, for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally round the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

'Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause, without remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations—your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier, and the language of truth, I address you.

'To every noble hearted free man of color, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz., one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay and daily rations and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

'On enrolling yourselves in companies, the Major General commanding, will select officers for your government, from your white fellow citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves.

'Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sar-

easm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

'To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions, and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated my wishes to the Governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to the manner of enrolments, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

'ANDREW JACKSON, *Major General Commmanding.*'

'*Proclamation to the Free People of Color.*

'Soldiers!—When on the banks of the Moble, I called you to take arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow citizens, *I expected much from you;* for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. *I knew well how you loved your native country*, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife, children and property: *You have done more than I expected.* In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found moreover, among you, a noble enthusiasm which leads to the performance of great things.

'Soldiers!—The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your General anticipates them in applauding your noble ardor.

'The enemy approaches, his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most glory, its noblest reward.

'By Order, THOMAS BUTLER, *Aid de Camp.*'

All the civil and political disabilities of the colored people, are the effect of usurpation. It is true, slavery is recognized by the articles of confederation; but there is not a public document of the government, which recognizes a colored man as a slave, not even in the provision for Southern representation.

When fugitive slaves are demanded by Southern slaveholders, they are recovered by virtue of a provision made to recover prisoners held to labor, in the state from whence they have absconded; but how that provision can be construed in such a

manner, as to give them that advantage, I cannot conceive. I am satisfied, that it only serves as a pretext to justify a base perversion of the law, for the sake of pleasing evil doers. In the first place, a slave is not held to labor legally in slave states, because, according to the extract I have made, viz., that each state has a right to frame laws which are not *prejudicial* to the articles of confederation; there is a limitation to which every other article of the document is subject. Now, what says another article of confederation? Why, that a person held to labor, shall be recovered. But in what way held? Upon this the articles of confederation, are silent; in fact, they may as well be silent; for had they pointed out the manner of persons being held to labor, they would have assumed the province of common law; this, the framers of the constitution and documents of confederation, knew full well; and the administrators of justice now know, that no person under heaven can be held to labor, other than by virtue of a contract, recognizable by common law. Neither do the administrators of justice, found their decisions on any thing found in the articles of confederation; for a proof of which, I will call the attention of my readers to the following considerations.

If a white person is arraigned before a justice, as a fugitive slave, it would not be all the evidence that could be collected to prove him a slave, however true, that would induce a justice at the North to give him up, if he were able to prove that he was of white parentage. It would be the same, in case that an Indian was arrraigned. There have been such claims made, I believe, and the defendants acquitted, even where there was proof positive, on the part of the claimant. This is proof positive, that decisions in such cases are not founded on a sentence contained in the articles of confederation, for there is nothing said, in that instrument, about nation or complexion; but persons held to labor. Now, if it is by virtue of that instrument, that the black man is held to labor, why not hold the white person, and the Indian, by the same power? And if they cannot be held by that instrument, how can any person be held, when no particular person is described? It is evident that decisions in favor of claimants are founded in the fact of the defendants being a black person, or descendants of blacks or Africans. Now, for all this mode of administering justice, there cannot be found a single sentence of justification, in any public document in the country, except such as have been framed by individual states; and these are prejudicial to the articles of confederation. If there is any thing in the articles of confederation, which jus-

tifies such a course of procedure, I have never found it. Only think, if one is claimed who is black, or who is a descendant of a black, (though he be whiter than a white man,) he must be given up to hopeless bondage, by virtue of the articles of confederation, when there is not a word about *black* contained in the instrument; whereas, if a white person be claimed, if he is half negro, if he can prove himself legally white, or of white parentage, he is acquitted. This course of conduct would be scouted by heathens, as a gross libel upon humanity and justice. It is so; and a violation of the Constitution, and of the Bill of Rights—the rights of the people; and every State which connives at such robbing in high places, clothed with a legal form, without a vestige of legal authority; and that too, after having taken the tremendous *oath*, as recorded in the Declaration of Independence, ought to have *perjury* written upon their statute books, and upon the ceiling of their legislative halls, in letters as large as their crime, and as black as the complexion of the injured.

Excuses have been employed in vain to cover up the hypocrisy of this nation. The most corrupt policy which ever disgraced its barbarous ancestry, has been adopted by both church and state, for the avowed purpose of withholding the *inalienable rights* of one part of the subjects of the government. Pretexts of the lowest order, which are neither witty or decent, and which rank among that order of subterfuges, under which the lowest of ruffians attempt to hide, when exposed to detection, are made available. Indeed, I may say in candor, that a highwayman or assassin acts upon principles far superior, in some respects, in comparison with those under which the administrators of the laws of church and state act, especially in their attempts to hide themselves and their designs from the just censure of the world, and from the burning rays of truth. I have no language to express what I see, and hear, and feel, on this subject. Were I capable of dipping my pen in the deepest dye of crime, and of understanding the science of the bottomless pit, I should then fail in presenting to the intelligence of mortals on earth, the true nature of American deception. There can be no appeals made in the name of the laws of the country, of philanthropy, or humanity, or religion, that is capable of drawing forth any thing but the retort,—*you are a negro!* If we call to our aid the thunder tones of the cannon and the arguments of fire arms, (vigorously managed by black and white men, side by side,) as displayed upon Dorchester Heights, and at Lexington, and at White Plains, and at Kingston, and at

Long Island, and elsewhere, the retort is, *you are a negro* —if we present to the nation a Bunker's Hill, our nation's altar, (upon which she offered her choicest sacrifice,) with our fathers, and brothers, and sons, prostrate thereon, wrapped in fire and smoke—the incense of blood borne upward upon the wings of sulphurous vapor, to the throne of national honor, with a halo of national glory echoing back, and spreading and astonishing the civilized world;—and if we present the thousands of widows and orphans, whose only earthly protectors were thus sacrificed, weeping over the fate of the departed; and anon, tears of blood are extorted, on learning that the government for which their lovers and sires had died, refuses to be their protector;—if we tell that angels weep in pity, and that God, the eternal Judge, 'will hear the desire of the humble, judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress,'—the retort is, YOU ARE A NEGRO! If there is a spark of honesty, patriotism, or religion, in the heart or the source from whence such refuting arguments emanate, the devil incarnate is the brightest seraph in paradise.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE NATURE OF THE PREJUDICE OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ITS MALIGNANT EXERCISE TOWARDS THE COLORED PEOPLE.

Malignant prejudice is a principle which calls into action the worst passions of the human heart. There are cases, however, in which the exercise of prejudice is perfectly harmless. A person may prepossess favorable opinions of another, and such opinions may be just and right. Unfavorable opinions may be formed, also, of persons whose conduct is censurable; and a just prejudice may be exercised towards them, as they stand related to their own bad conduct, without a display of any malignity.

Again, prejudicial feelings may be exercised towards another, through an error of judgment, for the want of means of knowing the true character of those against whom a prejudice is indulged; in which case, it possesses nothing malignant, because its possessor entertains no purpose of injury. Great caution should be exercised, however, in judging the motives and conduct of another, especially when such conduct relates somewhat to ourselves—because it is very natural for us to be governed by our interest, or imaginary interest, which is liable to lead us into errors of the worst kind. It is also natural, on being convicted of wrong, to plead ignorance. But such a plea will not always excuse the pleader in strict justice. For if the prejudiced person has the means of knowing, or if he has any doubt with regard to the justness of his opinions of his neighbors, and still neglects to use the means of informing himself, and to solve his doubts on the subject, but persists in the exercise of his prejudice, he is equally guilty of all the mischief produced thereby, as he would be if he knew ever so well, and persisted in his wrong course in the light of that knowledge.

Prejudice seems to possess a nature peculiar to itself It never possesses any vitiating qualities, except when it is exercised by one who has done, or intends to do, another an injury. And its malignity is heightened in proportion as its victim in any way recovers, or has a manifest prospect of recovering the injury ; or if there is apparently a door open by which a superior power to that which he possesses, may bring him to an account for the wrong done to his neighbor, all have a direct tendency to heighten the malignity of prejudice in the heart of its possessor.

The colored population are the injured party. And the prejudice of the whites against them is in exact proportion to the injury the colored people have sustained. There is a prejudice in this country against the Irish, who are flocking here by thousands. Still there is nothing malignant in the nature and exercise of that prejudice, either national or personal. It grows out of the mere circumstance of their different manners and religion. The moment an Irishman adopts the maxims and prevailing religion of the country, he is no longer regarded an Irishman, other than by birth. It is to be remembered, also, that the Irish are not an injured, but a benefited party ; therefore, it is not possible that the bestower of benefits could be at the same time malignantly exercising prejudice towards those he is benefiting.

There exists, therefore, no injurious prejudice against the Irish. There exists a prejudice against the Indians, but it is almost entirely national, and for the very reason that the injury they have sustained is essentially national. The jealous eye of this nation is fixed upon them as a nation, and has ever exercised the rigor of its prejudice towards them, in proportion as they attempted to recover their rightful possessions; or, in other words, just in proportion as the physical powers of the Indians, have dwindled to inefficiency, prejudice against them has become lax and passive. It revives only as they show signs of national life.

The injury sustained by the colored people, is both national and personal; indeed, it is national in a twofold sense. In the first place, they are lineally stolen from their native country, and detained for centuries, in a strange land, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. In this situation, their blood, habits, minds, and bodies, have undergone such a change, as to cause them to lose all legal or natural relations to their mother country. They are no longer her children; therefore, they sustain the great injury of losing their country, their birthright, and are

made aliens and illegitimates. Again, they sustain a national injury by being adopted subjects and citizens, and then be denied their citizenship, and the benefits derivable therefrom —accounted as aliens and outcasts, hence, are identified as belonging to no country—denied birthright in one, and had it stolen from them in another—and, I had like to have said, they had lost title to both worlds; for certainly they are denied all title in this, and almost all advantages to prepare for the next. In this light of the subject, they belong to no people, race, or nation; subjects of no government—citizens of no country—scattered surplus remnants of two races, and of different nations—severed into individuality—rendered a mass of broken fragments, thrown to and fro, by the boisterous passions of this and other ungodly nations. Such, in part, are the national injuries sustained by this miserable people.

I am aware that most people suppose the existence of color to be the cause of malignant prejudice. Upon this supposition an argument is founded, that color is an insurmountable barrier, over which there can be no social or political relation formed between white and colored Americans. To show the folly of which, I shall lay down and sustain the following principles.

First. Effects, according to their numerous laws, partake of their parent cause in nature and quantity; i. e. the amount of effect produced, will exactly agree with the amount of efficiency the cause contains which produced it; and their legitimacy claims for them, the nature of their parent. Apply this rule to the subject under consideration, and it will be seen, that, if color were the cause of prejudice, it follows, that just according to the variegation of the cause, (color) so would the effect variegate—i. e. the clear blooded black would be subject to a greater degree of prejudice, in proportion as he was black—and those of lighter caste subject to a less degree of prejudice, as they were light. Now it is well known that the exercise of prejudice, is as intense towards those who are in fact whiter than a clear blooded American, as it is against one who is as black as jet, if they are identified as belonging to that race of people who are the injured party.

Again. That which cannot be contemplated as a principle, abstractly, cannot be an efficient cause of any thing. A principle which is not subject to dissection, having body and parts—a principle of configuration is not capable of being an active cause; therefore, it only exists as a passive principle, depending entirely on an active principle for its existence. Now, if animal color can be contemplated as a cause, it must possess configurative

properties ; and if it possess these properties, then it is an independent principle, capable of living and acting after the man is dead, or decomposed. If it is argued that each component part of the man becomes independent when decomposed, and that animal color is one of the component parts, then I would ask, why we cannot comprehend its existence, the same as other matter of which the body was made ? If this cannot be done, then it cannot be regarded other than a passive principle in which there is no power of action. Color, therefore, cannot be an efficient cause of the malignant prejudice of the whites against the blacks ; it is only an imaginary cause at the most. It serves only as a trait by which a principle is identified.

The true cause of this prejudice is slavery. Slavery partakes of the nature and efficiency of all, and every thing, that is bad on earth and in hell. Its effect in the character of prejudice, as displayed towards the colored people, fully sustains my position—that effects partake of their parent cause, both in nature and quantity ; for certainly, nothing short of every thing evil on earth and in hell, in the form and character of slavery could be capable of producing such prejudicial injuries, as those under which the colored people are doomed to suffer. It must be admitted, that slavery assumes a most vicious character in its exercise towards them. Never could a people exist under greater injuries, than those under which this people have existed in this country ; slavery, in its worst form, is the cause of all injury sustained by them. The system of slavery in its effects, is imposed on the injured party in two forms, or by two methods. The first method is, by a code of laws, originating in public sentiment, as in slave states. The other is, prejudice originating in the same, as it exists in free states. The first method is prejudicial, and partakes of the corruptions of public sentiment, which is corrupted by prejudice ; but prejudice, in that case, assumes the form of law, and, therefore, is not capable of inflicting such deep injuries, as when it exists without law. Because to all law there is a limitation, whether good or bad ; hence, so far as the laws of slave states are concerned, a limitation of suffering may be contemplated, even under their direct influence. However severe slave laws may be, and however faithfully executed according to their letter and spirit—though by them the cup of injury be lavished out in full measure upon the objects of its abuse to the extent of its power, still, the innate principles of the human mind, will cause it to transcend such legal abuse, where a *limitation* can be comprehended.

Legal codes, however oppressive, have never as yet been able to crush the aspiring principles of human nature. The real monster slavery, cannot long exist, where it is sustained by legal codes only; it is forced to stand off, and is capable of imposing its shadow only, in comparison to what it is capable of doing by collateral aid. When public sentiment, therefore, has become so morally, civilly, and politically corrupted by the principles of slavery, as to be determined in crushing the objects of its malignity, it is under the necessity of calling prejudice to its aid, as an auxiliary to its adopted formal code of wickedness, clothed like a semi-devil, with all the innate principles of the old dragon himself. This auxiliary, is all powerfully capable of accommodating itself to local circumstances and conditions, and appearing with all the nature of the old beast, slavery; it is always ready to destroy every aspiration to civil, political and moral elevation, which arises in the breast of the oppressed. There is no pretext too absurd, by which to justify the expenditures of its soul-and-body-destroying energies. The complexion, features, pedigree, customs, and even the attributes and purposes of God, are made available to its justification.

By this monster, the withering influence of slavery is directed to the very vitals of the colored people—withering every incentive to improvement—rendering passive all the faculties of the intellect—subjecting the soul to a morbid state of insensibility —destroying the body—making one universal wreck of the best work of nature's God.

Such is its effect at the south, and scarcely less destructive at the north. The only difference is this: at the north, there is not so formal a code of laws by which to direct the energies of prejudice as at the south; still the doctrine of *expediency* full well makes up the deficiency of cruel laws, giving prejudice as full toleration to exercise itself, and in lavishing out its withering influence, as law at the south.

It is a remarkable fact that the moment the colored people show signs of life—any indication of being possessed with redeeming principles, that moment an unrelenting hatred arises in the mind which is inhabited by that foul fiend, prejudice; and the possessor of it will never be satisfied, until those indications are destroyed; space, time, nor circumstance, is no barrier to its exercise. Transplant the object of its malignity to Africa, or Canada, or elsewhere, and its poison is immediately transferred from local into national policy, and will exert all possible means it possesses, to accomplish its fell design. It always aims its deadly fangs at the noble and active principles of the immortal

mind, which alone enables man to stand forth pre-eminent in all the works of God.*

Let the oppressed assume the character of capable men in buisness, either mercantile, mechanical, or agricultural,—let them assume the right of exercising themselves in the use of the common privileges of the country—let them claim the right of enjoying liberty, in the general acceptation of the term—let them exercise the right of speech and of thought—let them presume to enjoy the privileges of the sanctuary and the Bible let their souls be filled with glory and of God, and wish to bow the knee at the sacred altar, and commemorate the dying love of Christ the Lord—let them seek a decent burial for their departed friend in the church yard—and they are immediately made to feel that they are as a carcass destined to be preyed upon by the eagles of persecution. Thus they are followed from life's dawn to death's-doom.

I have no language wherewith to give slavery, and its auxiliaries, an adequate description, as an efficient cause of the miseries it is capable of producing. It seems to possess a kind of omnipresence. It follows its victims in every avenue of life.

The principle assumes still another feature equally destructive. It makes the colored people subserve almost every foul purpose imaginable. Negro or nigger, is an approbrious term, employed to impose contempt upon them as an inferior race, and also to express their deformity of person. Nigger lips, nigger shins, and nigger heels, are phrases universally common among the juvenile class of society, and full well understood by them ; they are early learned to think of these expressions, as they are intended to apply to colored people, and as being expressive or descriptive of the odious qualities of their mind and body. These impressions received by the young, grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength. The term in itself, would be perfectly harmless, were it used only to distinguish one class of society from another ; but it is not used with that intent ; the practical definition is quite different in England to what it is here, for here, it flows from the fountain of purpose to injure. It is this baneful seed which is sown in the tender soil of youthful minds, and there cultivated by the hand of a corrupt immoral policy.

The universality of this kind of education is well known to the observing. Children in infancy receive oral instruction from the nurse. The first lessons given are, Johnny, Billy, Mary,

* Take Hayti for an example.

Sally, (or whatever the name may be,) go to sleep, if you don't the old *nigger* will care you off; don't you cry—Hark; the old *niggers'* coming—how ugly you are, you are worse than a little *nigger*. This is a specimen of the first lessons given.

The second is generally given in the domestic circle; in some families it is almost the only method of correcting their children. To inspire their half grown misses and masters to improvement, they are told that if they do this or that, or if they do thus and so, they will be poor or ignorant as a *nigger;* or that they will be black as a *nigger;* or have no more credit than a *nigger;* that they will have hair, lips, feet, or something of the kind, like a *nigger*. If doubt is entertained by any, as to the truth of what I write, let them travel twenty miles in any direction in this country, especially in the free States, and his own sense of hearing will convince him of its reality.

See nigger's thick lips—see his flat nose—nigger eye shine—that slick looking nigger—nigger, where you get so much coat?—that's a nigger priest—are sounds emanating from little urchins of Christain villagers, which continually infest the feelings of colored travellers, like the pestiferous breath of young devils; and full grown persons, and sometimes professors of religion, are not unfrequently heard to join in the concert.

A third mode of this kind of instruction is not altogether oral. Higher classes are frequently instructed in school rooms by refering them to the nigger-seat, and are sometimes threatened with being made to sit with the niggers, if they do not behave.

The same or similar use is made of nigger pews or seats in meeting-houses. Professing Christians, where these seats exist, make them a test by which to ascertain the amount of their humility. This I infer from their own language; for, say they, of the colored people, if we are only humble enough, we should be willing to sit any where to hear the word. If our hearts were right we should not care where we sit—I had as lief sit there (meaning the nigger pew,) as any where in the world. This, I admit, is all very good, but comes with rather bad grace. But, as I above observed, this kind of education is not altogether oral. Cuts and placards descriptive of the negroe's deformity, are every where displayed to the observation of the young, with corresponding broken lingo, the very character of which is marked with design.

Many of the popular book stores, in commercial towns and cities, have their show-windows lined with them. The bar-rooms of the most popular public houses in the country, sometimes have their ceiling literally covered with them. This display of American civility is under the daily observation of every class of society, even in New England. But this kind of education is not only systematized, but legalized. At the south, public newspapers are teeming through the country, bearing negro cuts, with remarks corresponding to the object for which they are inserted.

But this system is not carried on without deep design. It has hitherto been a settled opinion of philosophers that a black man could endure the heat better than a white man. Traders in human flesh have ever taken the advantage of that opinion, by urging it as a plea of justification of their obtaining Africans, as laborers in warm climates; hence, we may naturally expect, that in a slave country like this, it would be a universally admitted axiom; and the more readily admitted, as it is easily construed into a plea to justify their wicked purposes. If the black can endure the heat, and the white cannot, say they, it must be that God made him on purpose for that; hence, it is no harm for us to act in accordance with the purposes of God, and make him work. These are the simple inferences drawn from the philosophical premises, the justness of which I shall hereafter examine.

The arguments founded on these premises, are many. Cotton, rice, indigo, tobacco, and sugar, are great blessings to the world, say they, and they may as well be made to make them as not; for they are a lazy crew at the best, and if they are not made to work for us, they will not work at all, &c. But to come at the truth, the whole system is founded in avarice. I believe the premises to be the production of modern philosophy, bearing date with European slavery; and it has been the almost sole cause of the present prevailing public sentiment in regard to the colored population. It has given rise to the universal habit of thinking that they were made for the sole end of being slaves and underlings. There could be nothing more natural, than for a slaveholding nation to indulge in a train of thoughts and conclusions that favored their idol, slavery. It becomes the interest of all parties, not excepting the clergy, to sanction the premises, and draw the conclusions, and hence, to teach the rising generation. What could accord better with the objects of this nation in reference to blacks, than to teach their little ones that a negro is part monkey?

'The love of money is the root of all evil;' it will induce its votaries to teach lessons to their little babes, which only fits them for the destroyers of their species in this world, and for the torments of hell in the world to come. When clergymen, even, are so blinded by the god of this world, as to witness the practice of the most heinous blasphemy in the house, said to be dedicated to God, for centuries, without raising their warning voice to the wicked, it would not be at all surprising if they were to teach their children a few lessons in the science of anatomy, for the object of making them understand that a negro is not like a white man, instead of teaching them his catechism.

The effect of this instruction is most disastrous upon the mind of the community; having been instructed from youth to look upon a black man in no other light than a slave, and having associated with that idea the low calling of a slave, they cannot look upon him in any other light. If he should chance to be found in any other sphere of action than that of a slave, he magnifies to a monster of wonderful dimensions, so large that they cannot be made to believe that he is a man and a brother. Neither can they be made to believe it would be safe to admit him into stages, steam-boat cabins, and tavern dining-rooms; and not even into meeting-houses, unless he have a place prepared on purpose. Mechanical shops, stores, and school rooms, are all too small for his entrance as a man; if he be a slave, his corporeality becomes so diminished as to admit him into ladies' parlors, and into small private carriages, and elsewhere, without being disgustful on account of his deformity, or without producing any other discomfiture. Thus prejudice seems to possess a magical power, by which it makes a being appear most odious one moment, and the next, beautiful—at one moment too large to be on board a steam-boat, the next, so small as to be convenient almost any where.

But prejudice is destructive to life. The public have been frequently told the operation of the slave system is destructive to the life of its victim; this statement is intended generally to be confined to those parts where slavery is legalized; and what has been said relative to the subject is but a beginning of the story. Indeed, I may say the publishers of the horrible effects of slavery in this country, have not generally had the means of knowing one half of its enormity. The extent of it will probably remain a secret until the great day of eternity. Many of us who are conversant with fugitive slaves, on their arrival to the free states, have an opportunity of hearing a tale of wo, which for the want of adequate language, we are not able to

describe. These stories are told with so much native simplicity as to defy the most stubborn incredulity of the incredulous. But, though slavery in this way is carrying its thousands into eternity, in the southern states, yet it is doing hardly less so in the free states, as it displays itself in the character and form of prejudice.

Mind acts on matter. Contemplate the numerous free people of color under the despotic reign of prejudice—contemplate a young man in the ardor of youth, blessed with a mind as prolific as the air, aspiring to eminence and worth—contemplate his first early hopes blasted by the frost of prejudice—witness the ardor of youth inspiring him to a second and third trial, and as often repelled by this monster foe—hear him appealing to the laws of the land of his birth for protection—the haughty executives of the law spurning him from the halls of justice. He betakes to the temple of God—the last alternative around which his fading, dying hopes are hovering—but here, also, he receives a death thrust, and that by the hand of the priest of the altar of God. Yes—hear ye priests of the altar—it is the death thrust of slavery carried to the hearts of its victims by you. Yes—let it be known to the world, that the colored people who have been stolen, and have lost all allegiance to Africa, are sold in the shambles, and scouted from every privilege that makes life desirable. Under these discouragements they betake themselves to those who are called to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound, and they are set at nought by them also. The effect of these discouragements are every where manifest among the colored people.

I will venture to say, from my own experience and observation, that hundreds of them come to an untimely grave, by no other disease than that occasioned by oppression. And why should it be otherwise? They are virtually denied all possessions on earth, and how can they stay without a place whereon to rest.

I, as an individual, have had a sufficient opportunity to know something about prejudice, and its destructive effects. At an early period of my life, I was extensively engaged in mechanism, associated with a number of other colored men of master spirits and great minds. The enterprise was followed for about twenty years, perseveringly, in direct opposition to public sentiment, and the tide of popular prejudice. So intent were the parties in carrying out the principles of intelligent,

active free men, that they sacrificed every thing of comfort and ease to the object. The most rigid economy was adhered to at home and abroad. A regular school was established for the instruction of the youth connected with the factory, and the strictest rules of morality were supported with surprising assiduity; and ardent spirits found no place in the establishment. After the expenditure of this vast labor and time, together with many thousand dollars, the enterprise ended in a total failure. By reason of the repeated surges of the tide of prejudice, the establishment, like a ship in a boisterous hurricane at sea, went beneath its waves, richly laden, well manned, and well managed, and all sunk to rise no more. Such was the interest felt by the parties concerned, and such was their sense of the need of such an establishment for the benefit of colored youth, that they might acquire trades and a corresponding education, that they exerted every nerve to call it into the notice of the public, that the professed friends of the colored people might have an opportunity to save it from becoming a wreck; but all in vain; prejudice had decreed its fate. It fell, and with it fell the hearts of several of its undertakers in despair, and their bodies into their graves.

With the above, I could record the names of scores whose dissolution can be traced to a cloud of obstructions thrown in their way to prevent enterprise.

I should proceed no farther with this tale of wo, were I satisfied I had done my duty in the case. But the condition of the colored people is such, even in the free states, that every effort, however feeble, should be made to redeem them from the influence of that dreadful monster—prejudice. I have recently travelled among them as a missionary, and their condition is truly lamentable. Their immortal interests, as well as their temporal, are in many places almost entirely disregarded; and in others, their warmest friends seem not to comprehend their true condition. I found several hundreds in some places, who, though the bowl of knowledge was overflowing around them, were not permitted to partake, without they receive it from the cup of contempt, the thought of which, to sensitive minds, is like a draught of wormwood and gall.

Slavery, in the form and character of prejudice, is as fatal, yea, more fatal than the pestilence. It possesses imperial dominion over its votaries and victims. It demands and receives homage from priests and people. It drinks up the spirit of the church, and gathers blackness, and darkness, and death, around her brow. Its poison chills the life blood of her heart. Its

gigantic tread on the Sabbath day, pollutes the altars of the sanctuary of the Most High. It withholds the word of life from thousands of perishing immortals, and shuts the gate of heaven alike upon those whose hearts it possesses, and those marked out for its victims. It opens wide the way to hell; and as though posessed with more than magic power, coerces its millions down to the pit of wo in defiance of the benevolence of a God, and the dying groans of a Saviour. O Prejudice, thou art slavery in disguise! and couldst thou ascend to heaven, thy pestiferous breath would darken and poison that now healthful and happy clime; and thou wouldst make its inhabitants feel the pains of the lowest hell. If there are degrees of intensity to the misery of the damned, that being must feel it in eternity, in whose heart prejudice reigned in this world. O Prejudice, I cannot let thee pass without tel'ing thee and thy possessors, that thou art a compound of all evil—of all the corrupt passions of the heart. Yea, thou art a participant in all the purposes of the wicked one—thou art the very essence of hell.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CLAIMS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE TO ALL THE CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL PRIVILEGES OF THIS COUNTRY.

This proposition is in part embraced within the province of those of a preceding chapter. In following it, therefore, I shall be able to fulfil a promise therein contained.

The claims set up are founded in the fact that they are Americans by birth and blood. Complexion has never been made the legal test of citizenship in any age of the world. It has been established generally by birth and blood, and by purchase, or by the ceding of a province or territory from one nation to another. But as they are denied those privileges principally on the ground of their complexion and blood, it shall be my business in this concluding chapter to show—that though their complexion is as truly American as the complexion of the whites, yet it has nothing to do in settling the question. If blood has any thing to do with it, then we are able to prove that there is not a drop of African blood, according to the general acceptation of the term, flowing in the veins of an American born child, though black as jet. Children of African parents, recently arrived in this country, who have not undergone what is called seasoning, may partake of the characteristics of its African parents; such as the hair, complexion, and such like appendages, but the child's blood has nothing African about it, and for the following reasons. The blood of the parents in seasoning to this climate becomes changed—also, the food of the mother being the production of this country, and congenial to the climate—the atmosphere she breathes—the surrounding objects which strike her senses—all are principles which establish and give character to the

constitutional principles of the child, among which the blood is an essential constituent; hence every child born in America, even if it be as black as jet, is American by birth and blood. The kind of root called Irish potatoes, is in truth American, if the potatoes are the production of American soil; and thus remain American potatoes, though they be red or deep scarlet. Some eagle-eyed philosophers, who possess great acuteness of smelling powers, think there is a difference of smell between the Africans and Europeans. Suppose that idea to be correct—would it prove any difference of smell between Americans who are constitutionally alike, and whose corporeals are sustained by the same aliment? In philosophically contemplating those constitutional properties, the color of the skin can no more be included than that of the eyes or the length of the nose.

It is the settled opinion of most people in this country, as I mentioned in a former chapter, that black Americans can endure the heat better than white Americans This opinion is founded in the fact that black will retain heat while white emits it. I admit the proposition, but I doubt the correctness of the conclusions with respect to the color of animals.

Some minerals and dye-stuffs, and other black substances, will retain heat, which is owing to their not possessing any reflecting ingredient or property, by which the light or heat is thrown back. Heated iron will retain heat longer than heated brass, for the same reason—i. e. iron is not possessed of as much reflection as brass—or in other words, it has not the properties of reflection. I believe these are the considerations, and these only, that are capable of sustaining the proposition.

But these considerations do not and cannot embrace those connected with animal color, for that has neither the power of retaining nor emiting heat—and for the very good reason it possesses no properties; hence no efficient cause in itself to produce any effect whatever. The principle as it exists in relation to minerals and other substances, depends entirely upon the nature of the properties of which these several bodies are composed; but can the principle be made to apply to animal color?

Analyze black iron, and black properties are found in the iron. Analyze black dye-stuff, and black properties are found in the stuff. Analyze light brass, and light reflecting properties are found in the brass.

Analyze a black man, or anatomize him, and the result of research is the same as analyzing or anatomizing a white man.

Before the dissecting knife passes half through the outer layer of the skin, it meets with the same solids and fluids, and from thence all the way through the body. Now I should like to have some modern philosophers, who have got more sense than common school-boys, to tell the world how it is that two bodies of matter, the one exactly similar to the other, in every minute principle of their composition, should produce different effect by the one emiting heat, and the other retaining it.

If it is contended that those properties exist in the animal color itself, then, if they will be good enough to analyze it and give us a knowledge of its parts—i. e. if they think a black head can receive and understand it—they will do the world a great favor, as well as ourselves.

If the foregoing considerations are reconcilable, then it may be taken for granted that a black man can work better in the hot sun than a white man—but if they are not reconcilable, then the whole theory is only calculated to dupe the black people, and make knaves of the white people.

But to return. The colored people being constitutionally Americans, they are depending on American climate, American aliment, American government, and American manners, to sustain their American bodies and minds; a withholding of the enjoyment of any American principle from an American man, either governmental, ecclesiastical, civil, social or alimental, is in effect taking away his means of subsistence; and consequently, taking away his life. Every ecclesiastical body which denies an American the privilege of participating in its benefits, becomes his murderer. Every state which denies an American a citizenship with all its benefits, denies him his life. Every community which denies an American the privilege of public conveyances, in common with all others, murders him by piece-meal. Every community which withholds social intercourse with an American, by which he may enjoy current information, becomes his murderer of the worst kind. The claims the colored people set up, therefore, are the claims of an American.

They ask priests and people to withhold no longer their inalienable rights to seek happiness in the sanctuary of God, at the same time and place that other Americans seek happiness. They ask statesmen to open the way whereby they, in common with other Americans, may aspire to honor and worth as statesmen—to place their names with other Americans—subject to a draft as jurymen and other functionary appointments, according to their ability. They ask their white American brethren to think of them and treat them as American citizens,

and neighbors, and as members of the same American family. They urge their claims in full assurance of their being founded in immutable justice. They urge them from a sense of patriotism, from an interest they feel in the well being of their common country. And lastly, they urge them from the conviction that God, the judge of all men, will avenge them of their wrongs, unless their claims are speedily granted.

There are some objections urged against these claims. One is, that the greater part of the colored people are held as property, and if these claims are granted, their owners would be subject to great loss. In answer to this objection, I would remark, that were I to accede to the right of the master to his property in man, still I should conceive the objection groundless, for it is a well known fact that a far greater portion of the colored people who are free, purchased their freedom, and the freedom of their families. Many of them have purchased themselves several times over. Thousands of dollars have been paid over to masters annually, which was the proceeds of extra labor, in consideration of their expected freedom. My colored acquaintances are numerous who have thus done, some of whom were under the necessity of running away to obtain their freedom after all.

I am sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments and views of the slave population of every slave state in the union, to warrant me in the conclusion, that if the despotic power of the master was wrested from him, and the slaves placed under a law of ever so rigid a nature, with the privilege of paying for themselves by their extra labor, there would be comparatively few slaves in the country in less than seven years. The most of them would pay the round price of their bodies, and come out freemen.

Another objection is, that the slaves, if freed at once, would not be capable of enjoying suffrages.

This objection has less foundation than the former, for the several state legislatures of the slave states are continually assisting the masters to keep them in ignorance, and why not legislate in favor of their being informed?

Some contend that they are not now fit for freedom, but ought to be prepared and then freed.

Such a calculation is preposterous. We might as well talk about educating a water machine to run against its propelling power, as to talk about educating a slave for a free man. When travelling through the state of New York, recently, I made some inquiries with respect to the colored people, who in some

places are very numerous. I was there informed, by gentlemen whose veracity I cannot doubt, that they are generally indolent and dissipated, far worse than they were when they were slaves. I was told also, that many of them had enjoyed excellent opportunities to become wealthy and respectable. That before the Emancipation Bill was passed in that state, they were mostly slaves, but had an opportunity of obtaining an excellent education, and the art of farming, equal, and in many instances, superior to most white men. When they became free, many of their masters, as a reward of former faithfulness, furnished them with means to operate for themselves on a small scale. My informants expressed much astonishment at the fact that most of those who had the best opportunity to do well, had become dissipated, and much worse in character and conduct than when they were slaves.

I have introduced this narrative for the purpose of showing that slaves cannot be educated for free men. A slave is metamorphosed into a machine, adapted to a specific operation, and propelled by the despotic power of the slave system, without any motive to attract. The influence of this power acts upon a slave the same as upon any other biased agent. By the abrogation of the propelling cause of all the acts of the machine, it ceases to move. The slave is now left, without either motive to attract, or power to coerce. A slave, as such, in undergoing the change from a moral, intelligent being, to a mere machine, lost all the innate principles of a freeman. Hence, when the principles of slavery ceases to act upon him, to the end for which he is a slave, he is left a mere out-of-use wreck of machinery ; under nothing but the withering influence of the pelting rain of wickedness.

It is true, many of the slaves of New York had some education, but that education was acquired when a slave. Hence, it was only a collateral means by which he was rendered a more efficient machine. His education was the education of a slave, and not a freeman.

These conclusions may be thought by some to go against the doctrine of immediate abolition—not so. The doctrine of immediate abolition embraces the idea of an entire reversal of the system of slavery. The work of emancipation is not complete when it only cuts off some of the most prominent limbs of slavery, such as destroying the despotic power of the master, and the laying by of the cow-hide. The man who fell among thieves was emancipated in that way. His cruel captivators, I suppose, thought they had done a great act of philanthropy

when they left off beating him. But their sort of emancipation left the poor man half dead—precisely in the same way New York emancipated her slaves, after beating them several hundred years, left them, half dead, without proscribing any healing remedy for the bruises and wounds received by their maltreatment. But the good Samaritan had quite a different view of the subject. It is remembered, undoubtedly, that before he acted, there were several who passed by that way, saw the man, but passed by on the other side. Whether they were Unionists, Colonizationists, or Abolitionists, every one must judge for themselves. But when the good man came along, he carried out the principles of immediate abolitionism. If New York had imitated him, there would have been no complaint about her emancipated negroes (as they are called,) being worse than when they were slaves.

I repeat, that emancipation embraces the idea that the emancipated must be placed back where slavery found them, and restore to them all that slavery has taken away from them. Merely to cease beating the colored people, and leave them in their gore, and call it emancipation, is nonsense. Nothing short of an entire reversal of the slave system in theory and practice—in general and in particular—will ever accomplish the work of redeeming the colored people of this country from their present condition.

Let the country, then, no longer act the part of the thief. Let the free states no longer act the part of them who passed by on the other side, and leaving the colored people half dead, especially when they were beaten by their own hands, and so call it emancipation—raising a wonderment why the half dead people do not heal themselves. Let them rather act the part of the good Samaritan. That only will open an effectual door through which sympathies can flow, and by which a reciprocity of sentiment and interest can take place — a proper knowledge acquired by the benefactor relative to his duty, and reciprocated on the part of the benefited.

This state of things would possess redeeming power. Every collateral means would be marshaled under the heaven-born principle, that requires all men to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. It would kindle anew the innate principles of moral, civil and social manhood, in the down-trodden colored Americans; bidding them arise as from the dead, and speed their way back to the height from whence they have fallen. Nor would the call be in vain. A corresponding action on their part would respond to the cheering

voice. The countenance which has been cast down, hitherto, would brighten up with joy. Their narrow foreheads, which have hitherto been contracted for the want of mental exercise, would begin to broaden. Their eye balls, hitherto strained out to prominence by a frenzy excited by the flourish of the whip, would fall back under a thick foliage of curly eyebrows, indicative of deep penetrating thought. Those muscles, which have hitherto been distended by grief and weeping, would become contracted to an acuteness, corresponding to that acuteness of perception with which business men are blessed. That interior region, the dwelling place of the soul, would be lighted up with the fires of love and gratitude to their benefactors on earth, and to their great Benefactor above, driving back those clouds of slavery and of prejudice which have hitherto darkened and destroyed its vision. And thus their whole man would be redeemed, rendering them fit for the associates of their fellow men in this life, and for the associates of angels in the world to come.

Sons of Columbia, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Defend the honest poor, the truth maintain.

Sons of pilgrim sires, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Your country's stained with blood all o'er the main.

Priests of the altar, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Cease to be slavery's vassals—dupes to gain.

Priests of the altar up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
No more the holy name of God profane.

Priests of the altar, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Come ye from under slavery's prejudicial reign.

Priests of the altar, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
The trump of God has sounded—Hark—it sounds again.

Daughters of freedom, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Shall violated chastity call for help in vain?

Daughters of freedom, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Ere thy sisters' grief 'gainst thee in heaven complain.

Statesmen of Columbia, up get ye;
Hark! Jefferson presag'd from first,
Trembling for his country—proclaimed—God is just!!

Priests and people, all, up get ye;
Hark! hear the prophets tell,
How nations forgetting God are sent to hell.

Priests and people, all, up get ye;
Purge you from that dreadful sin,
Prejudice—of dev'lish extract—hellish fiend.

Priests and people, all, up get ye;
Repent ye while you may,
An awful judgment is at hand—God's vengeful day.

☞The sermon, as proposed in our title page, is omitted on the account that it would swell the work far beyond our calculation. It will accompany a work entitled Easton's Lectures on Civil, Social, and Moral Economy, which will be presented to the public in a few weeks. The surplus proceeds of that work, as well as of this, after their expenses are paid, will be given to a colored society in Hartford, Con., who have lost their meeting-house by fire.

An extensive supply of this work may be had by forwarding an order to Isaac Knapp's Book Store and Liberator Office, No. 25 Cornhill, at the rate of $18 per 100—$2,50 per doz. 25 cents single copy. Subscribers for the other work solicited on the same conditions—directed to the same office before the first of April.

Wherein the works are deficient in their claims to patronage, it is hoped will be made up by the claims of the suffering society, for whom the proceeds are intended.

ERRATA.

6th page, 6th line from the top, instead of 'sprung' read 'springing' —and for 'you may find' read 'are found.'

10th page, 2d paragraph, 6th line, instead of 'conquest of armies' read 'conquest in arms'—also, 3d paragraph, 6th line, instead of 'impossible' read 'improbable.'

11th page, 1st line, instead of 'learning' read 'litany.'

12th page, 3d line, instead of 'by conveyance' read 'by *other* conveyance,'—also, instead of 'kindred and' &c. read 'subjects or' &c.—and for 'defender' read 'defendants.'

14th page, last paragraph, 2d line, instead of 'have annual,' &c. read 'receive annual,' &c.

18th page, 3d paragraph, 5th line, instead of 'the superiority' read 'the *pretended* superiority.'

19th page, 9th line from the top, read after 'and,' '*their country*' virtually, &c.

24th page, 2d paragraph, two last lines. instead of 'their progenitors since that period,' read 'since the commencement of that period.'

26th page, 2d paragraph, 12th line, instead of 'pangs' read 'fangs.'

28th page, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th lines from the bottom, read thus: 'In convoking the Continental Congress of the 4th of September, 1774, there was not a word said about color. At a subsequent period, Congress met again, and agreed to get in readiness 12,000 men, to act in any emergency; also, a request was' &c.

31st page, 4th paragraph, 1st line, instead of 'Moble' read 'Mobile.'

34th page, 7th line from the top, for 'halo' read 'halloo.'

45th page, 5th line from the top, instead of 'surprising' read 'unsurpassing.'